167 /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned
• [464] from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "carifiosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often
[271] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots,
[824] which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of
539 adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about?
648 I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian
484 Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

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[404]

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. [126] In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeytí (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

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The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

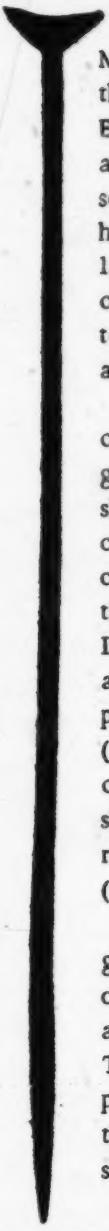

Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/11 nat. size.)

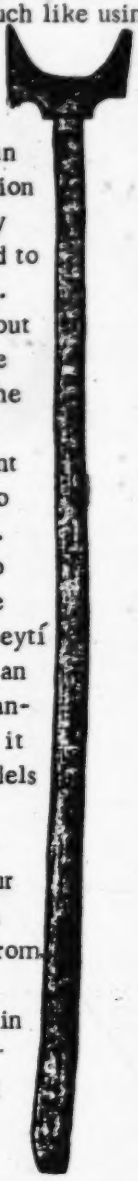

Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

471 231 [435]

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

556 they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as *"Guarayos."*

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely hap-
pens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which re-
new nature.

Extent and Area

131
[161] The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
● [464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

222 237 [461] 237 464

*136 *825 [959] A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

[859] All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

464 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers,
797 and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

178 Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have
464 disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of
[161] some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and
[797] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions
[162] are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
444 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[1317] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
[167] Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[444] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/101 cont./

361 799

1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 799 131

1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with 578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence 541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not [412] known and, if they had them, they only used them in [178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed; [167] the young are succeeding the old, and these young people [464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has 464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very 167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit- 464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could 648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

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157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites
●464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

797 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/163/

643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was [671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 643 756 666 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. 648 This has become easier today by agreement with the political 466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that 464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named 622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the 643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke of the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 649 464 466

A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554

The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

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A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

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/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

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I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

163 M71 L17

Education of neophytes through work

4: Niños--378 M-3 (1888-1911) 1912 SF10 Chirigueno SF10

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nurses.

648 424 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

Twins

845 [63] [65] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. 736 603 [853] [824] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

4 Misc--320 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/236/

Chapter Ten

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Agriculture. Animals. Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

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648 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in
464 the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran
466 Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

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1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers
[169] in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 The object of the present chapter is to describe the
[241] method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting
177 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them con-
648 tinually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

4: Nino--402 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

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The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

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1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

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The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

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in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

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If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/306 cont./
797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 Following the method which has been implanted, the
• 464 missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano
[797] were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

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of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

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2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

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The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

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The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

/181/

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

Ee 622 643 551

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177] Ee 177 464

Ce 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

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/239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee
532 The Chiriguano and Chané always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

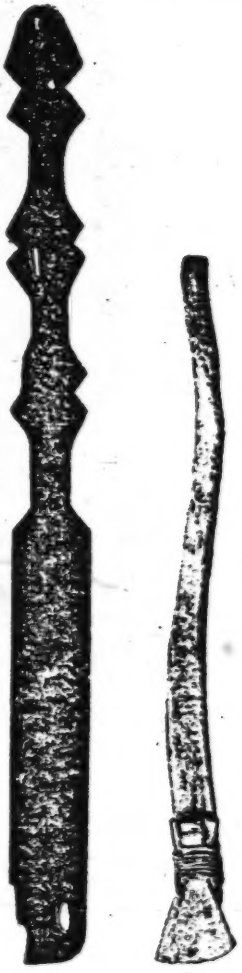
e
Ce
541 It is strange what a great role the carnival now plays as a
177 festival among the Indians. This
[464] undoubtedly comes from the fact that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee
527 Guests often come from a great distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

e
Ce
[178] with necklaces of chrysocolla and turquoise. I never saw used, however,

e
412 the silver diadem and the silver
237 pins which belong to the festive attire.
→ One often sees the men's blue costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they

Ce
535 are not used for the festivals.
527 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
273 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
533 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song



A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

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/299 cont./
Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

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Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

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up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

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/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee
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The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee
[464]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 Ce [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. C 184 433 422 178 [643] [461] [476] [464] Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of C [562] labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting